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A SHORT
COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL
L E T T E R

FROM

MR. JOSEPH PRICE

TO THE

R
RIGHT HONOURABLE
CHARLES JAMES FOX,
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL
SECRETARIES OF STATE;

ON THE SUBJECT OF
HIS ASIATIC BILLS,
NOW PENDING IN PARLIAMENT.

L O N D O N :

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M D C C L X X X I I I .

COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL

L. E. T. F. H.

MR. JOSEPH PRICE

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CHARLES JAMES FOX

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL

SECRETARIES OF STATE

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NOW PRINTING IN PARLIAMENT

LONDON

PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
CHARLES JAMES FOX.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

I SHALL not apologize for giving you information on a subject on which you cannot have had much. In the sixth page of your printed Bill, for the better Government of the Asiatic Territorial Possessions, there is a short paragraph, forbidding all Monopolies at Bengal indiscriminately : This, Sir, may have been inserted, from a desire of doing all that was right. I shall not controvert the principle ; but in practice, I am convinced

that it will prove as pernicious, with respect to the general trade of Bengal, as laying open the trade to India would be to this country.

THE present plan for supporting the home-made Bengal Salt Trade, by excluding the importation of foreign salt, is the least oppressive to the people, and most productive to Government, that ever was thought of : It produces a clear and unoppressive revenue of five hundred thousand pounds per annum, against which there never was, nor does now exist, a single complaint from the Natives. Such a plan should not, on the idea of making things better, be again thrown into confusion. The private pretenders to that trade will avail themselves of your clause, and again the revenue on salt will be ruined, if not quite lost. On an average, all the kingdom over, the natives of Bengal eat salt twenty-five
per

per cent. cheaper than the poor of this country do. If you propose revenue from it, do not attempt to mend what is already well.

Opium is not a necessary of life, and is, besides, a business still less understood in this country than the Salt Trade. Monopoly is a term out of repute : To say that an article of commerce is monopolized, is to damn it at once. No examination is entered into ; no evidence called ; the name is a bad one by which that branch of commerce exists ; to get rid of the name, the commerce itself must be destroyed. In defiance of the Ninth Report, or of nine thousand such Reports, I will give you a short but true history of the Opium Trade, in order to prevent your doing, under the *whistling of a name*, a thing that must again be undone, or the Opium Trade of Bengal will be ruined and lost.

PATNA

PATNA Opium is a drug sought for and used by all the inhabitants of the Eastern side of India, including the Empire of China : It is one of the best articles of the export trade of Bengal ; the loss of which would be most sensibly felt in every department of the Government : It is one of those articles of commerce the most subject to adulteration of any that exists ; not ten persons in the hundred, who purchase it for exportation, know whether it is good or bad ; and that, at all times, has made it necessary, that the persons who have the care of manufacturing of it in the Provinces, should have some check over the Cultivators, and not suffer them to pack up any but what was standard good, and marketable abroad. This, at all periods of time when the Government was settled and quiet, has induced the necessity of granting an exclusive right to some capital Merchant, of the Trade in Opium ;

Opium ; and their own interest made it indispensibly necessary for them to send it good and unadulterated to the sea-port town, that is, to Calcutta. And it often happened, that the Monopolist warranted it not only good, but that it should keep so for a certain time ; and under this sanction, the trade was carried on during the Government of the Moors, and produced rich returns, in tin, gold, and other articles of merchandize, into Bengal.

WITH the government of the Provinces, the Opium Trade fell into the hands of the English ; and every man who pleased became a dealer in Opium. The necessary check having been removed by the change of Government, the Opium became so much debased, that many people were ruined, by the sophisticated stuff which they bought for Opium ; and the Trade in Opium from Bengal was almost lost.

lost. At length, in 1773, Governor Hastings interposed, and tried various modes to bring it back to its primitive goodness; and after some time, the exclusive management of it was given to an Individual, who was to deliver it at Calcutta, to the Company, at a certain price, *warranted good*. This scheme was adopted, when General Clavering's majority prevailed in the Government; and it was given by them, in Contract, to their friends. By this means the Opium recovered its primitive goodness: And thus a branch of trade, highly beneficial to the kingdom, was restored, and nobody was injured.

At length it happened, that the time of the Contract expired; and it was given by Governor General Hastings to one of his friends, on the very same terms as it had been before given by General Clavering

Clavering to one of his. You are no stranger, Sir, to the clamour which has been raised on this head, against Mr. Hastings. If you can prove him guilty of any crime, do not only bring him away, but hang him. If he is the Delinquent described by your friend, in his Ninth Report, do not spare him: A better example never can be found. It will strike terror into others.--But let the Opium Trade exist: It is necessary to the well-being of Bengal. To mark it as a Monopoly in your Bill, will be to destroy it. Is it so very easy to find honest, disinterested men in this country, to go out to govern justly and equitably that immense Empire; and so very hard to find a few men in the whole Company's service at Bengal, who may be stationed at the Patna Factory, to receive the poppy juice of the Province, at a reasonable price, from the Cultivators, and see it properly manufactured for exportation? Never believe it, Sir. If Opium Contractors sound

so odious in the ears of the British Senate, call them Commissioners of the Opium Manufacture. Do any thing, but again lay open, and again destroy so beneficial a branch of commerce. Well chosen names, have wonderful effects on half-informed minds: Cromwell wisely rejected that of Dictator, and took the softer one of Protector. Alas! Sir, in the rage of Reformation, attempt not too much! In the Act of 1773, Europeans were forbid to trade in the Provinces of Bengal, for Rice, on just as erroneous an idea as this of laying open the Opium Trade; but the Government there, who knew that the exportation of grain was absolutely necessary to such a corn producing country, and that it was the Europeans who exported all that was exported, connived at their purchasing grain in the Provinces. But no Government can connive at a Monopoly, nor carry it into execution, in that country, in direct defiance

defiance of a law of this. So, Sir, I say again, do not tie your new Government up too close, in matters of Commerce: Leave something to your Councils of State in Asia. The seat of Empire is too far off, and the Legislative Powers of this country too slow in their motions, to apply to for relief in all matters of Commerce.

THE Clauses relative to the restoration of Zemindars, are so prodigiously loose, that vast confusion and disorders will ensue therefrom, as they now stand.—Shun retrospection as much as you can, in a country, where to swear to any thing that will be to a man's advantage, is held as lightly as an Election or a Custom-house Oath seems to be in this country. Ten thousand Nundcomars will arise, who shall swear, that the man in possession obtained his farm by bribery; and at the same moment offer large bribes to buy him out.

In short, Sir, the Bill, as it now stands, in pages nine and ten, seems to me to be calculated to revive the spirit of litigation amongst the natives, against every man who at any time has held authority over them, in the Company's service. How far that authority was or was not legal, is left to the determination of the Supreme Court at Bengal, and the Mayor's Court every where else : And I defy the art of man to mark out a more extensive field for the Lawyers, now in India and going there, to shew their talents in. The confusions of 1774 are well known ; and you have admitted, that to establish the laws of England in India, was an attempt absurd in idea, and found to be impossible in practice ; but you wish to infuse the spirit of the English laws into the natives of Hindostan. I wish so too, Sir ; but from long experience I am convinced, that it must be done by slow degrees, and with
more

more temper than your present Bill possesses. Draw down your line of oblivion as close to the date of your Act as possible; mark crimes which may happen; but do not leave it to Lawyers to find evidence in India, to prove transactions long since passed, criminal—by your present Bill operating as a law *ex post facto*. If you do, you may inspire the Indians with every particle of the litigious spirit of your laws; but the equality, justice, moderation, and equity of them, will escape their notice, in the litigious altercation and disorders which will inevitably arise.

I HAVE a right to say of your Bill, Sir, whilst it is yet a Bill, and not a Law, that it favors too much of Prejudice, and the spirit of Party: The eager desire to criminate some few individuals, whom you deem Delinquents, is covered over with the plea of Humanity and Justice to the
Natives

Natives of India. In God's name, let them have all the justice in the power of the Legislature to give them, but do not let loose the *Dogs of Law* on your own Countrymen in India, in order to prove bold assertions, held forth in the spirit of Party in this country. In short, Sir, let your Laws breathe the true spirit of a British Senate, and not that of the school of Draco: Send your new Governors with an Olive Branch in one hand, and an Act of Oblivion in the other; trust them with a little more power on the spot, if you think them worth trusting at all, at such an immense distance; or all will continue to be confusion and disorder; Appeal upon Appeal will be the annual returns from your Territorial Possessions. Again I say, that your present Territorial Bill is better calculated for the Defence of a Party, than an Act of the whole British Legislature, intended

intended to raise the hopes and drown the fears of Twenty Millions of People. In order to convince the people of Asia of your good intentions towards them, you proscribe your own countrymen. Is this policy, or passion?

Now I have the pen in hand, I will inform you of a few facts. Newspapers are as much read in Asia as in London: The Indians have them of their own. Mr. Woodfall's Paper is almost as famous there as it is here. Many of the Morning Chronicles, for the month of November, are already packed up for Asia; and Mr. Jackall's (for so they will call you) speeches against the East-India Company and their Servants, and in favour of the poor Indians, will be rendered into all the languages of Hindostan; and your fame be spread from the Indus, if not from the Euphrates, to the Ganges. I will not say,
that

that any of them are honeſter men than you are, yet they often do put very good colours on very bad actions. Though I never knew one of them any thing like your equal in Oratory and Eloquence, believe me, Sir, they are very good Politicians; and they will quote Mr. Jackall's ſpeeches againſt the Company, in as many modes and ways, as you could and have done yourſelf. John Company, they will ſay, has all along deceived them; they now know to be true what Mr. Philip Francis has often told them; that he (John Company) had no intereſt at the Engliſh Durbar; that it was made clear to them, that John was an old impudent Bankrupt rascal; for Mr. Jackall had proved him to be ſo in fifty places, in his moſt humane and excellent ſpeeches. Believe me, Sir, that you have made the name of the Eaſt India Company, a name of reproach
over

over Asia, and yet you leave the Company standing. Not only the Commerce of the country is to be carried on, but the Revenues are to be collected; and War and Peace are still to be made in their name, and by Men in India called their Servants. When I saw Sir John Lindsay with a Red Ribbon about his neck, complimenting the Nabob of Arcot, and telling him that he was the King's Servant, superior in every degree to the Company's Governor; and the next day saw Mr. Dupree, the Company's Governor, assuring of the same Nabob, that Sir John's power was confined to his own department, the Sea, and that he must look to him, as the Company's Governor, for every thing which related to the affairs of the Carnatic; I thought it a most ridiculous farce: But this of yours will prove ten times more so. As to the meaning of your pending

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Bills,

Bills, when they arrive in India as Laws; how are the great men of the country to have them explained to them? Surely you do not expect the Lawyers to do it? If they are applied to separately, they will give different opinions on the same Clauses; if jointly, they will equally disagree: Some will plead the spirit, and some the letter. Mr. Philip Francis, when there before, told them that he was the fifth part of a King: If you send him again, as Governor-General, (and there are people in town who affirm that that point is settled between you) he may assume the port of the King himself; but when he comes to talk of the Company's interest in this, and the Company's interest in that, how are they to know what he means? Will they not say, Why, Sir, your friend Mr. Jackall has declared to the whole English Durbar, that we should be no more teased
by

by that greedy old Bankrupt scoundrel? What are we to believe, or what are we to think? You talk the very language of Governor Hastings, who has been disgraced, because he did all in his power to save the Company,

YOUR friend Mr. Woodfall, in his Paper of the first instant, in telling us what you said in your speech, on this head, and on that head, says,

“ DEBTS due to the Company from
 “ the Nabob of Arcot, 968,012l.; Rajah
 “ of Tanjore, 158,250l.; the Renters,
 “ 993,804l.

“ HE (Mr. Fox) disallowed, without
 “ exception, upon the principles already
 “ stated, with regard to the debt of
 “ Mahomed Ally: He said, the Na-
 “ bob could not attempt to pay his debt,

“ without attempting to take it from the
 “ Rajah ; nor the Rajah without taking
 “ it from some neighbouring Power ;
 “ and all this with the assistance of the
 “ Company’s troops, and at the expence
 “ of the Company’s treasure.”

Do you imagine, Sir, that all this will
 not be translated and explained to these
 several Rajahs and Nabobs ? And have
 you so poor an opinion of the sagacity
 of Asiatic Princes, as to imagine they
 will not avail themselves of such infor-
 mation, and quote your own words to your
 own Agents, to prove their inability to pay
 their stipends ; except by the means you
 point out, to enable them to pay up what
 they stood engaged for to the Company ?
 Thus fortified with your own expressions,
 what reply will your new Governor use,
 to induce them to pay money which you
 say yourself is not justly due ?

IN the same Debate, as Woodfall relates, General Smith mentioned some private advices which he had received from India, in support of the necessity of some immediate change of system. I do not know who the General's private correspondents are ; and yet, perhaps, I could give a very shrewd guess at them : But be they whom they may, it was, in my opinion, very poor authority to quote in such a place, in justification of a change of system in the Asiatic department. That the General has many malcontent correspondents there, no man doubts ; they have long looked for his return ; when they expect the wages of all their seditious and inflammatory information, which has done the Company's affairs, in this country, no small injury. These correspondents of General Smith, and others of the very immaculate Mr. Philip Francis, have long embarrassed
the

the hands of Government in every part of India.

SIR, I do assure you, that many hundred of the Proprietors of India Stock dread your system, as much from an apprehension that you are already pledged to send Mr. Philip Francis and General Smith back again, in high station, to India, as from any other of your views. They do not, they cannot consider such a measure as at all agreeing with the title of your Bill—"For the good of the Proprietors." Those two men have, for years back, Sir, assured the Public, that Governor Hastings had been ruining India. Mr. Francis in particular, as far back as the year 1775, gave it under his hand, that Governor Hastings had accumulated in thirty months, forty lacks of rupees for his own use. That assertion, and fifty others equally fallacious, stand

NOW

now on record at the India-House, and no man believes them. The power of the Commissioners, as the Bills stand now, is unlimited and undefined ; and their instructions to the new Officers may be kept as secret as they please. Do not, Sir, if you are wise, permit the old servants of the Company to be proscribed at the will of these men. If you really and truly feel a cordial and real esteem for Lord North, since your Coalition with him, notwithstanding all your former political scurrility and abuse, you have indeed a great soul ! But that is not the case with Mr. Philip Francis. He cannot forgive. Wretched and miserable in his own nature, his delight is to make others so : And for you, to submit every Officer in India to the overbearing influence of General Smith, will be to make slaves of a Corps of Men, who deserve better of their country.

HAD

HAD you but seen the disorders and confusions which took place in the Settlement of Calcutta, in the year 1774, on the arrival of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis ; or could you but conceive the evil consequences which flowed therefrom, to the Public Interests, I do believe that you would fall on some means to prevent its happening again. Mr. Hastings was then in the Government at Bengal, and every thing was quiet and in peace. He will be found there now ; and I hope and believe, nay, pledge myself, that the New Men will find all India in peace ; and every thing prepared for them to reduce all expences within proper bounds. If they shall be honourable and good men which you send, (and I pray to God they may be so) they will not stoop to the mean drudgery of sitting down to write fallacious accounts of the miserable state of
 affairs

affairs that they find things in ; in order to enhance their own good services, in bringing round what will almost execute itself, with a little temper and a little patience—I mean the total liquidation of all the Company's Debts at home and abroad ; and that the Provinces of Bengal alone will do, in less than five years, on the present plan of its internal Government.

BUT, Sir, if that most impolitic of all ideas shall be undertaken and pursued, of restoring old expelled Zemindars and Rajahs, in the name of goodness, where will you begin, or where will you stop ? You have but two modes of conduct to pursue : The first is simply to adopt the plans that your new Governors may find established, when they arrive in India ; and for them to go on with your own idea of governing your subjects there, by their own laws and customs ; infusing,
E by

by degrees, the generous and manly spirit of the Laws of England into them ; or withdraw your fleets and armies, and quit the country entirely. There is no third way, Sir, but such as must inevitably lead to all the anarchy, confusion, and disorder, that temporary change of System, and change of Plan, has for more than twenty years involved the National Affairs in Asia.

If I understand your Bills right, your seven Directors, by means of your New Government, are to make slaves of all the Englishmen in Asia, in order to make the Asiatics breathe the spirit of Free Men. The moment you effect that, they will serve you as the Americans have done—send you back to your own country.

I WAS

I WAS in the House at your first opening this business ; and saw, and heard, and felt, the glow of pleasure and hum of general applause which buzzed through the whole House, on your declaring, that your wish was to infuse that spirit of equality into the inhabitants of India, which was the pride of Englishmen ! and had you called out at that instant, " All you above and below, who approve " the measure, hold up your hands," every hand, even mine, would have been instantly expanded : But when the delicious delirium was over, good God ! exclaimed I to myself, what is this witchery of words, that so beguiles the human mind of the use of reason ! Is it possible, thought I, that these great English Senators whom I see below me, warmed with the fantastic idea of sending forty pages of printed paper ten thousand miles, to illuminate and infuse into the souls of

twenty millions of East-Indians, the glorious spirit of Liberty, yet have never thought of sending one particle of comfort or relief to a million of poor, innocent Africans, doomed to the worst of slavery, at one third of the distance, in our own Sugar Islands ? Alas ! Sir, that single reflection destroyed in my mind all the powers of your eloquence ! It is, thought I, damned delusion all !—God's best gift applied to the worst of purposes ! I know that many of your assertions, relative to Governor Hastings, were false and groundless ; and I turned from you with disgust ; convinced that the bad spirit of Burke had possessed you, and induced you, under favour of the credit you have with the House, to utter what from him they never could believe.

If, Sir, I was to draw from your former actions, and former language, any
 infe-

inference to your real stamp of character, I should be obliged to conclude that you have no real enmity to Governor-General Hastings ; but that when you have got him away, and supplied his place with your friends, your political rancour will die away, and you will be ready and willing, on his arrival in England, to introduce him to his Gracious Sovereign, to receive the honours due to his integrity and his long services. Should I be mistaken, Sir, in this, I know him too well, to be so in what follows. He will not fly your wrath to come, but meet it with that manly front, with which he has at all times encountered the difficulties, and braved the dangers of his station, whilst doing his duty to his Country ; charging all you have said or done against him, to party prejudices, not your own ; the peculiarity of your present situation, and political necessity.

As

As to the Chairman of the Select Committee, and Composer of the Ninth Report, having no spleen to the men, he will despise and forgive their extreme rancour towards him; well knowing that they will not dare to insult him with a repetition of their trash, when he is present to defend himself; and will blame, highly blame his friends, for having deigned to defend his character against the pitiful insinuations of men so strongly marked in the public eye.

I will venture my opinion on the consequences of your Bills, if they pass into Laws in their present form. Before the time is out, which they are said to be intended to run, other violent Appeals will be made to Parliament; and then, if the nation has yet faith left in Popular Orators, they will be told, that nothing will do but taking the Territorial

rial Revenue into the hands of the Crown, and laying the Trade to India open to all the world. From the first demand of the Minister on the Company for 400,000l. per annum, in 1766, the catastrophe was foreseen, and foretold, even by Mr. Burke himself: They have made regular advances on the privileges and property of the Company ever since; and now you, Sir, have made a grand seizure of their whole Patronage, to increase the Influence of the Crown, for *the good of the Nation*. I own I have imbibed spleen enough, from recent circumstances, to wish that Lord North may live five years longer, and continue in the Ministry, that he may at once take a retrospective view of all the good he will at that period have accomplished for the discontented People of this Nation; not only in the Western and Eastern hemispheres, but also at home.

THERE

THERE was a part of one of your late speeches, Sir, which made me wish that I had died some time in 1763, or 1764: You expressed a dread that the conduct of Mr. Hastings might involve us in another war with France—I have lived too long, Sir, when I have lived to hear a Minister of this Country talk of fearing a war with that faith-breaking Nation. When did it happen that the English Nation was the aggressor in any former war with France? Never, as I can find, in the small compass of my reading. Your expressing fears about it, will not keep you out of it whenever they are ready, any more than your crying to the Dutch procured you a peace. I mean not to offend you, Sir, but I wish that you would learn to talk in bolder language to the Enemies of England, and less delusive to your Fellow Subjects.

I am, with all due respect,

S I R,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOSEPH PRICE,

P O S T S C R I P T.

AFTER the above Pages had been sent to the Press, I read in one of the News-papers of Tuesday the 2d, a Speech, said to have been spoken in the House of Commons by Mr. Edmund Burke. I am no stranger to that Gentleman's talent at misrepresentation; but to his three years study of India-House Records, I beg leave to oppose thirty years experience, and local knowledge of the Trade of India: For I am one of those phenomenons said by Mr. Burke in the above speech, never to have been seen in *India a grey headed European*. He affirms, that Monopolies of Rice and of Opium had ruined Bengal; and I deny that a Monopoly of Rice ever existed there, or ever can exist: And I affirm, that the Clause in the Act of 1773, forbidding
F Europeans

Europeans to buy Rice in the Provinces, was as pernicious as it would be to forbid the Exportation of Wheat in this country, in years of the greatest plenty. This is a fact that every person who knows any thing of India, could, and perhaps did, inform him of: But the Honourable Gentleman has long been in the habit of accepting information, but from one description of people.

THE Patna Opium is a Monopoly—it always has been a Monopoly, except on temporary occasions, when the country was in war and confusion; and then it was so adulterated and mixed with the inferior sorts, that it would not sell.—If a sack of the best Wheat in this Kingdom was to be mixed with an equal quantity of Rye, and in that state carried to market, would the Meal-men buy it to make the best flour from? I fancy not.

At

At Bengal, the Poppy which produces the pure Opium, so much sought all over the East, grows in the Patna Province ; but there is an inferior sort produced at Rungpore, Bogglepore, and in other Provinces in Bengal, which, if mixed with the Patna Opium, spoils it as much as the Rye would spoil the Wheat. On this account, and for this reason, in all periods of time, persons have been appointed to secure this valuable article of the Bengal Export Trade in Opium. If Mr. Burke did not know these circumstances, he was himself deceived—If he does know them, he has deceived the House. I could follow this Gentleman into many other parts of his elaborate harangue, and prove him to have been equally misled, by his informers or by his prejudices, in most of his facts and assertions, made on Monday last in the House : I mean, if the News-paper speech is his speech.

I SAY again, that from Necessity, the Rice Clauses in the Act of 1773, was and is connived at by the Government at Bengal ; and that the Monopoly Clause in this Act, relative to the Salt and Opium, will, from the same Necessity, be in future evaded. But the articles of Opium and Rice furnish matter for abuse and deception in debate ; and the Clause itself is held up to the Nation as a necessary act of humanity, though its operation, if carried into execution, would prove the direct contrary.—As the Honourable Gentleman has long been in the habit of contradicting himself, or frequently changing his sentiments on Indian Affairs ; and that the field of abuse is wide enough to take in all his present spleen against the Company and its Servants, I wish that he would desist from his attempts to destroy the Asiatic Commerce, by employing his eloquence on what he really does not understand.

derstand. If Mr. Gregory was not himself an Indian, I would refer Mr. Burke to him, for proof of what I say on the Rice and Opium Trade of Bengal : He has dealt largely in both articles ; and when he left that country last, had some grey hairs in his head, and was of course one of Mr. Burke's phenomenons : However, I believe that he does not wish to be thought the only honest European who ever was in that country. If the Right Honourable Paymaster had but studied the Scriptures as much as he says he has the old Records at the India-House, he would have perhaps learnt the doctrine, of looking a little into his own conduct, and the conduct of his near Relations ; which, if he has any feeling left, might have induced him to be more sparing in his personal abuse of others. Bad as the worst Collector I ever knew in India was, I had rather be that Collector than a certain Collector of a certain

certain Western Island: The Gentleman's eye can pierce the mist of ten thousand miles, and discover Delinquents in the East; but a Defaulter from the West, placed under his nose, intrusted with Treasury Accounts, and his near relation, escapes his notice.

MR. BURKE says, to be sure Mr. Fox will name the Commissioners from amongst his own friends; for who should a responsible Minister trust but those on whom he can depend. Most certainly, such is the practice, and such ought to be the declared principle of action of every honest man in power. But I would ask Mr. Burke, whether Mr. Hastings was not responsible for every act of his Government in Bengal; and on the same ground, had a right to nominate the Inferior Officers of his Government? He had an Agent at the Court of Oude in 1774, but on the arrival of
General

General Clavering and his party, the majority of the Government was in them; and, on Mr. Burke's principle, they removed him, and sent up Mr. Bristow. In 1776 Mr. Monson died, and the power reverted back to Mr. Hastings; and he, again, on the same principle, removed Mr. Bristow, and sent back his old and trusty Agent. Yet this conduct of the Governor General of Bengal, has been called by every harsh name the English language could supply, by this very Mr. Burke; who now very justly defends the same conduct in his friend Mr. Fox. If I cared a sixpence for Mr. Burke's opinion, as an honest man, I would be at the trouble to refute in the same manner, from his publications, and from his speeches in Parliament, every one of his inveterate harangues and misrepresented charges against the Governor-General of Bengal: But that is not now the question; he stands no more in
the

the way of the present Plan than Lord North does. The point is this: If we do not by one bold stroke manacle the —, he will spoil our leasing. Money is equally the sinew of every kind of war, whethet of gun-powder, of paper, or of words; and Patronage can with more decency be directed to all our purposes, than solid gold; and Patronage we must have, or our Majority cannot stand. Such is now almost openly avowed to be the principle of action. Where such doctrine, and the accumulation of such power as the East-India Patronage will lead, is the duty of every Englishman to consider; and that every Englishman might have an opportunity to consider it fairly, a reference of the question to them, by a dissolution of the Parliament, would be constitutional, expedient, and fair; and I believe, very popular all over the kingdom. But if the Bills become Laws in their present shape, it may be worth the while



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